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ABSTRACT

Conference papers on bilingualism and children are presented, including: "The Nurture and Nature of Bilingual Acquisition" (Laurel Kamada, Liu Xing-Ying, Willeta Silva, Mary Goebel Noguchi); "Early English Acquisition in the EFL Situation" (Soo-Woong Ahn); "Age Factors and Language Proficiency in Child SLA" (Kazuko Yumoto); and "Development of Framework in K-12 Japanese as a Second Language" (Yuriko K. Kite, David Nunan, Suzuko Nishihara, Anita Gesling, Sumiko Shimizu). Individual papers contain references. (MSE)

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Section Five

Bilingualism and Children

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The Nurture and Nature of Bilingual Acquisition

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This paper focuses on the development of bilingualism, moving from broad analysis based on neurobiological and environmental factors that affect the acquisition of two languages to the specifics of a single individual case study. Photographic images taken inside brains of subjects engaged in language activity provide implications for educators on language acquisition from a neurobiological point of view. Then, an analysis is made of environmental factors affecting bilingualism as surveyed through a group of 29 subjects from 17 bilingual families. Finally, a single detailed case study of a developing bilingual child acquiring syntax of Chinese and Japanese simultaneously is examined in detail.

Implications of Neurobiology for Bilingual Acquisition

Language communication transpires as cells are energized via biochemical interchanges and transmissions of electrochemical energy, relegating language as physiological phenomenon. Use of Positron Emission Tomography (PET) scans which superimpose images onto Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRIs) has made it possible to comprehend how and where language information is processed in the brain. Superimposition of the changes in blood flow from generalized structures in the brain onto exact anatomical maps that are subject-specific, has enabled researchers to objectify language generation (Silva, 1995). Its primary focus has enabled researchers to better understand how a second language is acquired and the variables that impact on the nature of that acquisition.

Bilingual acquisition can be engineered and significantly enhanced if the subject's primary care givers manipulate the factors which tend to improve memory—the introduction and use of multisensory stimuli, often referred to as the visual, auditory, kinesthetic and tactile (VAKT) approach. For example, if children are enabled to "see, hear, feel, and play with a word," the brain more readily establishes a long term memory track. Following is a summary of implications drawn from recent findings in neurobiology (Chomsky, 1968; Eimas, 1985; Goldman-Rakic, 1992; Peterson, Fox, Posner, Minton & Raichle, 1988) relevant to bilingual fostering.

Neurobiology has revealed that language functions are localized in the brain with language processing being predominantly located in the left hemisphere. This lends some support for the question as to whether the capacity to generate language is innate or learned (Silva, 1995).

However, there may be a critical period for language development in which learning has more effect. This period of acquisition is correlated and orchestrated with the neural development which coincides with the maturational stages of brain growth of dendrites indicating that the optimum time for language learning is from early childhood until adolescence when the brains of these children generate double the amount of energy of the adult brain (Silva, 1995). If this holds true for first language learning, what does this mean for the initiation of the second language?

Language occurs as the end result of synaptic transmission and translation of sensory input. The spoken expression of language is the sum total of electrical impulses and neurotransmissions responding to images perceived. The implication of this is that the state of a subject's health, both physical and mental, can have a profound impact upon the output of consciousness and language. The sensitive parent/teacher should be aware of the importance of the effects of physical and mental growth on language learning.

Special structures exist in the left hemisphere of the brain to facilitate speaking, visualization, hearing and reading within both sexes. However, in females, there appears to be greater right side activity during focus on emotional issues while males tend to compartmentalize on the left during concentration of spatial orientation tasks. Current research indicates that females have greater connectivity between the two halves of the brain providing more efficient second language acquisition.The influence of sex hormones, such as testosterone in males and estrogen in females may contribute to the greater specialization in females in understanding emotional issues. The implication here for educators is that males students may need additional instruction with the help of visual aides

The question for professionals in the field of facilitating second language acquisition concerns the recognition of biological determinants that are universal across cultures. Because the brain is malleable and is responsive to environmental influences, both the question of the innate biological nature of a person as well as environmental nurturing must be considered together. Referred to as neuroplasticity, this thesis concedes that the anatomical nature of the brain is responsive to environmental changes. This implies that the quality and clarity of early language models should be a key influence in language acquisition.

The nurture/nature issue brings up the question of language intelligence. Greater intelligence may be reflected by development of greater neural elaboration established during the early years of development acquired by mental stimulation that is novel and original in focus. The overall intelligent brain is an efficient one, using much less energy to accomplish a task after mastery. The implication here for educators would be to work on the development of language skills as early as possible.

Questions of how early language acquisition occurs can be explained by understanding that genetic and biochemical influences are present from the moment of conception. From the beginning, language acquisition continues at its maximum until puberty. Because initial language skills are heavily dependent on comprehension of nonverbal behaviors, it is surmised that continuous, close interactions with parents may contribute significantly to language acquisition.

Researchers and parents alike trying to understand bilingual acquisition also concern themselves with the problem of second language attrition. "Use it or lose it" has become an accepted principle in understanding other aspects of human biology. Early, continued consistent exposure to the second language is important. Also, research has indicated that learning and memory become integrated and clarified in relationship to meaningful exposure and repetition. The implications gleaned from neurobiology reflect that meaningful language practice may facilitate the recall of lost skills, thereby strengthening synaptic connections. It may be that skills are never lost but are dependent upon meaningful cues.

Bilingual Acquisition of 29 Case Study Subjects

Much of the analysis revealed through examining neurobiological factors is further supported through analysis of a group of 29 case studies from 17 bilingual families in Japan[1] (Kamada, 1995a; Kamada, 1995b). Various factors hypothesized to contribute to bilinguality were evaluated in each case. Although due to the small sampling size bringing statistical relevance into question, the purpose here was to establish a basis for the development of primary hypotheses for further research.

Aspects of each case were identified and indexed, according to assessments made on several variables. Such variables included: sex, age at interview, nationality and languages spoken by both parents, assessments of parental

bilinguality, language relationships between family members, incidence and duration of minority language culture residence, and assessment of bilingual ability in the past and present. Analysis revealed a number of influences assumed to affect bilinguality. They can be categorized as factors which: 1) do *not* particularly contribute to bilingualism, 2) contribute *significantly* to bilingualism, and 3) contribute to *less-than-peer level* bilingualism.

Of the 29 cases, 13 were females and 16 were males. In10 of the 13 female cases the subjects successfully acquired bilinguality. Only 9 of the 16 male subjects were successful in acquiring bilinguality. Although this may not be a statistically reliable figure due to unbalanced data and sample size, nevertheless the higher female ratio score for bilingual acquisition here seems to support the above mentioned neurobiological explanation. Of these 29 cases, loss of bilinguality was observed in the following cases: total loss of minority language (6 cases), partial loss of minority language (4 cases), loss and re-acquisition of minority language (3 cases), and loss and re-acquisition of majority language (1 case). One case fell into three of the above categories with loss and re-acquisition occurring repeatedly as she changed environments.

The myth that bilinguality will certainly develop in children of bilingual parents, such as where one parent is a bilingual born of dual cultures or where one parent is a bilingual foreigner born in Japan (where the other parent is monolingual Japanese), was dispelled through the results of these cases, where 3 out of 3 such cases failed to acquire bilinguality. Another variable often assumed to contribute to bilinguality is when one parent is from the minority language culture. Often such children, especially of minority language mothers who are monolingual in the minority language, achieve bilinguality. However, in the seven cases where the father was from the minority language culture and the mother was Japanese, six failed to acquire bilingualism. Another factor in this category was identified which revealed that returnees who were not given immediate reinforcement in their minority language upon return to Japan were also at risk of not maintaining bilinguality.

In the second category, several factors were identified which were felt to significantly contribute to bilingualism. One such factor was the situation of both parents being from the minority language culture (6 of 7 cases acquired bilinguality). There was one case where both parents were Japanese, but used the minority language solely (English, and not Japanese) in the home. Thus, (regardless of their nationalities) both parents' use of the minority language with the child at home revealed an even stronger significant tendency for bilingual acquisition (8 out of 8 cases). Even in cases where only the mother used the minority language with the child at home or only the mother was from the minority language culture (and the father was Japanese) also proved to be significant (4 of 4 cases).

Giving returnee children immediate reinforcement in minority language instruction upon return to Japan was also identified as having significant contribution to bilinguality (6 of 6 cases). For children of Japanese parents, of mixed marriages, or of foreigners residing in Japan, overseas residence in minority language country proved to be strongly related to bilingual acquisition (16 of 21 cases). This was especially true for children whose overseas residence extended for at least 1 or 2 years, or for those who made frequent shorter trips.

Another factor identified to be significantly related to bilingual acquisition (see also Yamamoto, 1987), was when the language used between siblings was the minority language (10 of 10 cases). Also, in combination with other factors, a propensity in children to show precociousness in first language ability (5 of 6 cases) and situations where parents or caretakers employed good techniques and possessed and utilized many home tools such as minority language books, video and audio tapes (11 of 11 cases) were identified to be significantly correlated to bilingual acquisition. This idea of an interdependency between the first and second language has been greatly detailed also in reference to biliteracy (Cummins, 1989; Cummins, 1991).

Finally, several factors were identified which showed contribution to less-than-peer level bilinguality. This occurred when one or both parents, but especially the mother, mixed the two languages and there was not a clear separation of the two languages in the home. Also returnee children were seen to acquire less-than-peer level bilinguality when both parents' minority language ability was nil or less than that of the child.

In summary, caution is advised for those identified most at risk of not acquiring bilinguality as follows: families with minority language fathers and Japanese mothers, returnees who do not get immediate reinforcement in minority language instruction soon upon return to Japan, and those without opportunity to reside overseas very often or for very long. Parents are encour-

aged to try to use the minority language at home as much as possible, provide immediate reinforcement in minority language instruction for returnees, try to spend more time in residence in the country of the minority language culture, possess and use good techniques and minority language materials, and try to not mix languages.

A Child's Simultaneous Acquisition of Chinese and Japanese Syntax

Having identified in general terms significant factors thought to contribute to bilingualism based on a medium sized group of cases, we now turn to examine details of a specific case subject whose simultaneous acquisition of Chinese and Japanese sheds further understanding on the process of bilingual acquisition.

This case study examines the development of syntax of the presenter's oldest child, a Chinese girl (hereinafter referred to as "Y"), born and presently residing in Japan, who acquired Chinese and Japanese simultaneously. The child learned the minority language, Chinese, from her parents at home and the majority language, Japanese, at a day-care center. The purpose of this study was threefold, to examine: 1) the stages of the child's development of syntax of both languages between the ages of one and three, 2) the differences between the development of the syntax in the two languages, and 3) to study interference between the two languages in terms of syntax.

Based on a language journal kept by the author, this report examines the syntax of all the mother-child communication from 14 months to around the third birthday. Other aspects of the mother's journal have been reported elsewhere (Liu 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1994a, 1994b, and 1995). Y's multiple-word utterances were divided into those that were completely Chinese, that were all Japanese, and that mixed the two languages. The syntax of each was then analyzed. Syntax theory was applied to divide Y's development of syntax into four stages. Next, the syntax of Y's multiple-word utterances in each stage was analyzed.

In the first stage (Presyntactic Stage; 1:1 - 1:5), most utterances in both languages were limited to single words. Multiple-word utterances first appeared from 1:4, but were limited in type and frequency. All multiple-word utterances in Chinese were exclamations whereas those in Japanese were of addressing someone, and two-word linked forms. Some mixing of the languages was observed, but, not in mixing of the syntaxes. Since none of the structures distinctive to either Japanese or Chinese syntax were yet observed, it was concluded that both languages were still in their presyntactic stage.

In the second stage (Combined Syntax Stage; 1:6 - 1:0), single-word utterances in both languages were still Y's main means of communication. There was a rapid increase in two-word utterances, however, characterized by the following language use: 1) structures that were similar in Chinese and Japanese syntax, 2) Chinese pivot words in Japanese word order, and 3) Japanese pivot words in utterances employing Japanese word order. Mixed-language utterances were of three types, those in which: 1) the languages had structures in common, and where Japanese words were used as pivot words and Chinese terms as open words following Japanese word order, 2) Japanese particles were used with single Chinese words, and 3) Chinese and Japanese words were employed that had the same meaning. It was concluded that since Y was using pivot words in both languages, she was starting to acquire syntax in both; however, her use of Chinese pivot words in Japanese word order makes it appear that she was using one syntactic system for both languages, based on the Japanese system of pivot and open words. For Y, two languages now had different names for the same thing.

The third stage (Combined Syntax Stage 2; 1:11 - 2:7) in the development of Y's syntax showed a striking increase in her vocabulary in both languages marked by multiple-word utterances. She began to employ a number of Chinese verb-object predicates, used as if they were single lexical items. Many cases of her use of Chinese verbs and objects in the Japanese word order indicated that she was not yet aware of the Chinese rules of syntax. During this period, Y also started to change verb and adjective endings in accordance with the rules of Japanese syntax. Her mixed-language utterances included the use of Chinese words in Japanese word order, use of equivalents in her two languages in repetitious utterances, and the addition of Japanese interjection, exclamation and sentence final particles to Chinese utterances. It was concluded that here, Y still was relying on one syntactic system, and that it was Japanese.

The fourth stage (Separate Syntax Stage; 1:6 - 3:0) of Y's syntactic development showed a marked increase in Chinese vocabulary, and a subsequent decrease in mixed utterances born of her insufficient knowledge of words in that language. Also, from about 2:6, she began using the distinctive Chinese SVO word order, and thereafter was able to employ Chinese syntax in Chinese utterances and Japanese syntax in Japanese utterances. Moreover, from about 2:7, Y

began to regularly use Japanese case and conjunctive particles, indicating her mastery of Japanese syntax. Some use of Japanese words in Chinese utterances remained, however. Chinese words were also used in some Japanese sentences, but only at home, and were thought to be indicative of the dominance of Japanese. Thus, in the fourth stage of her syntactic development, Y was seen to have basically acquired the syntax of both languages and clearly separated them.

In summary, the development of billingualism for Y highlights her ability to traverse the four stages of syntax acquisition and learn the grammar of two languages through the maintenance of Chinese in the home and Japanese at the day-care, as well as conscious, appropriate language instruction on the part of the adults in these environments. While single-word utterances predominated in both languages in the first stage, by the end of the fourth stage,Y had acquired separate syntaxes for her two languages. Interference between the two languages developed during the second stage, with mixed-language utterances appearing then and Japanese word order predominating in the third stage, but with a gradual decrease in the forth stage in confusion in the syntax of the two languages and mixing due to lack of vocabulary in one of the languages. Although the use of Japanese auxiliary words in Chinese utterances appeared in the fourth stage, such mixing was evident only in conversation with Y's bilingual mother, and almost never in her Japanese environments. Thus, it was concluded that the child had, in fact, acquired the separate syntaxes for her two languages by the age of three.

Conclusion

The development of bilingualism in individuals is seen as encompassing a variety of factors, both innate and learned. Neurobiology provides an explanation for observable variables analyzed from case studies. For example, the advantage in bilingual acquisition seen for girls over boys is explained neurobiologically as greater right brain activity and connectivity between the two halves of the brain. Neurobiology has also provided us with brain maps showing not only how language acquisition starts from conception, but also revealing how children's brains generate more activity than adults providing an explanation for Y's success in separating the syntax of two separate languages by the age of three. The case study finding relating precociousness of children in first language to second language acquisition lends support to the physiological, innate nature of language acquisition. The enhancement of memory through sensory manipulation of language perhaps also explains Y's success with the energetic support of day-care teachers and linguist mother. The idea of neuroplasticity, in which the brain responds to environmental changes, helps to explain why bilinguality is acquired in children with mothers who employ good language learning techniques, and use of minority language materials such as revealed in the 29 case studies and also in Y's case. The explanation offered by neurobiology that the loss and recall of language may be dependent on meaningful clues gives hope to those whose second language attrition may yet reappear with future need and proper cluing.

Note

1 For more detailed information see: Kamada, L. (1993, Jan/Feb - 1995 Nov/Dec). Bilingual Family case study. *Bilingual Japan*. *2* (1), 14-16; *2* (2) 9-11; *2* (3), 8-10; *2* (4), 9-11; *2* (5),10-11; *2* (6), 13-14; *3* (1), 9-10; *3* (2), 10-11; *3* (3), 8-10; *3* (4), 9-11 ; *3* (5), 9-10; *3* (6), 11-13; *4* (1), 10-11; *4* (2), 9-10; *4* (3), 9-10 ; *4* (4), 11-12; *4* (5), 8-9; *4* (6), 11-12 .

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Early English Acquisition in the EFL Situation

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Introduction

The basis for arguments in favor of starting to teach English earlier in the elementary school is on Chomsky's LAD theory and the critical period hypothesis of Wilder Penfield (1953, 1959) and Lenneberg (1967). The purpose of this paper is to see whether there are any important mistakes in applying these theories in EFL situations and what the factors are that confuse many scholars and language policy-makers in these situations. To clear the confusion, the following questions will be answered:

1) Will a child attain proficiency in an EFL situation as the critical period hypothesis says?
2) Is the inability of foreign language learners to speak the target language after many years of study due to age or other important factors?
3) Is early acquisition of English in an ESL situation directly applicable to a child learner in the EFL situation?

This paper tries to solve the question with a proposal of three conditions for language acquisition: Language Acquisition Device (LAD), Input, and Language Needs.

Three Conditions for Language Acquisition

The LAD and the Critical Period Hypothesis

According to the LAD theory, a learner's LAD processes the incoming input automatically and produces output. Chomsky's proposal is that a child's brain is preprogrammed with some universal principles of language which he said is the universal grammar. This program makes the children learn a language so quickly without knowing within four or five years after birth. This LAD theory could provide an explanation for the children's language acquisition but could

not explain why foreign language learners cannot attain fluency with his/her knowledge of the grammar and why his/her LAD does not work. The critical period hypothesis (CPH) seemed to provide an answer for this. But the CPH met many counterexamples. It was found that foreign language learners ' problems can be explained better by social and psychological factors (Krashen 1977, 1979, 1981; Schumann 1975).

The main points of Critical Period Hypothesis (Neufeld, 1979) are as follows:

i) There are biological constraints upon second language learning in adults and these constraints are inevitable and irreversible.
ii) No one beyond puberty can hope to achieve accent-free speech in a second language.

The neurophysiologist Penfield was influential in spreading this strong version of CPH (Penfield, 1953; Roberts, 1959; Stern 1978). Penfield's argument that the early years of life before puberty were crucial for learning was derived from his observations on the effect of brain damage on speech in children and adults. Penfield found that children before puberty who suffer brain damage in the speech area of the cerebral cortex recover speech better than adolescents or adults (Lenneberg, 1967). This age was equated with the period taken for lateralization of the language function to the left side of the brain to be completed.

The No Critical Period Hypothesis (Social Psychological Factors) is the result of more recent studies and tries to explain the difference between child and adult performance by social and psychological factors (Chun, 1980; Krashen, 1981, 1983; Schumann, 1975). This paper takes the No Critical Period Hypothesis (NCPH) which states that:

i) There are no intrinsic differences between first and second language learning.
ii) Language learning ability does not decrease with age.
iii) The disparity between child and adult performance can be explained primarily by social and psychological factors which are independent of psycholinguistic abilities.

Input

Language input is the essential factor for language acquisition. Language input is the data on which the LAD can work for hypothesizing rules. The LAD responds to the appropriate input and forms the grammar of the language. The input factor is important in explaining how a child in an ESL situation and a child in an EFL situation are different and why the child in the ESL situation is successful in attaining English proficiency and why the child in the EFL situation is not. Table 1 clearly shows the difference in the amount of input in different situations.

Table 1. Comparison of Sources of Natural Input in L1, ESL, EFL and K-2G

Source	Situations		
	L1	ESL	EFL
K-2G*			
parents	O	O	x
brothers/sisters	O	O	x
peer groups	O	O	x
society	O	O	x
TV & radio	O	O	x
newspapers & magazines	O	O	x
books	O	O	x
teachers	O	O	?

*K-2G (Korean for second generation immigrants in English speaking countries)

Language Needs: Social and Psycnological Variables

Language needs are another essential factor in language acquisition. Language needs include such affective factors as motivation, empathy, and ego boundaries. Language needs in the situations of L1, ESL, EFL and K-2G are compared in Table 2. This factor critically affects language acquisition. Lack of this factor causes loss of language as young children usually under the age five lose their first or second language when they move to another country where the language is not heard or spoken. Another case is where Korean immigrants' children fail to acquire Korean even though there is Korean input by their parents at home because there are no language needs to satisfy their physical or psychological needs.

Table 2 Comparison of Language Needs in L1, ESL, EFL, and K-2G

Primary Lang Needs	Secondary Lang Needs	L1	ESL	EFL	K-2G
Satisfying Physical Needs: water, food, etc.		O	O	x	x
Belongingness and love needs		O	O	x	x
Identity		O	O	x	x
Security		O	O	x	x
Self-Esteem		O	O	x	x
	Socializing with peer group	O	O	x	x
	Traveling	O	O	x	x
	Reading English	O	O	x	x
	Understanding English Movies	O	O	x	x
	Passing Tests	O	O	O	x
	Curiosity for the Unknown	O	O	x	x
	Ego Enhancement	O	O	x	x

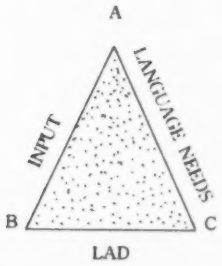
*K-2G (Korean for second generation immigrants in the English speaking countries.)

Comparison of Different Situations

The L1 Situation

Any normal child can learn a language. Speaking is achieved without much conscious effort. Speaking is spontaneous and automatic. A child speaks the mother tongue without consciously applying grammar. In this situation all three conditions are met: LAD is present, input comes from all sources, and there are language needs. Therefore this situation can be summarized as in Figure 1.

Figure 1: *L1 Situation*

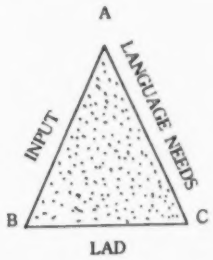


The ESL Situation

A Child in ESL

Children in this situation learn English without effort and their speaking is spontaneous and automatic. They speak English without consciously applying grammar. Three conditions, LAD, language input and language needs are fully satisfied. Language acquisition is successful. This situation can be summarized as in Figure 2.

Figure 2: *A child in ESL*

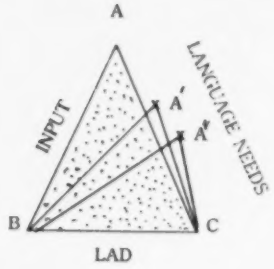


Adults in ESL

Adults in this situation have no problem in acquiring English even though they retain foreign accents. Three conditions are satisfied in this situation. The difference between children and adults may be in the way that the adults socialize. Adults do not get involved in communication as children do and they cannot concentrate on language learning because of many other competing tasks. Schumann (1975) says that these social and psychological constraints cause difference in acquiring a language between a

child and an adult. Figure 3 shows that language needs are the variable that makes the difference. According to how much language needs an adult learner has, language acquisition varies.

Figure 3: *An adult in ESL*



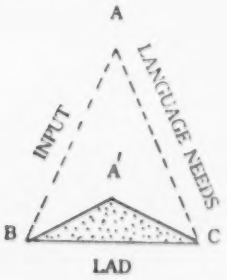
The EFL Situation

A Child in EFL

There is no report of successful acquisition of native-like proficiency in this situation. It is misleading that often the successful cases of learners in ESL situations are quoted as examples of early English acquisition. A child in an EFL situation speaks English by consciously applying the grammar. His/her speaking is neither spontaneous nor automatic.

The three conditions are not satisfied in this situation. The LAD is supposed to be in the learner's minds. There is no actual language input outside the classroom. Even English teachers will speak Korean in the English class. There are no language needs in any way in this situation. All the needs of the learners are satisfied in his/her first language which is Korean. Therefore the situation can be summarized as in Figure 4.

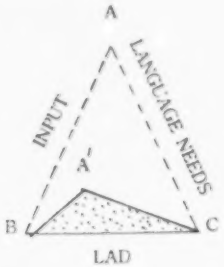
Figure 4: *A child in EFL*



An Adult in EFL

Speaking is the poorest in this situation. The learner has always to learn grammar consciously. When he speaks, he has to always consciously apply the grammar. His speech is neither spontaneous nor automatic. The adult learner's LAD is still with him.[1] But in this situation, lack of natural input and language needs as shown in Tables 1, 2, and 3 may be the factors that make their learning difficult. If these conditions are reflected, language learning can be summarized as Figure 5.

Figure 5: *An adult in EFL*



Empirical Data

Rejection of CPH

In spite of the initial favor, the CPH has been rejected by many scholars (Chun, 1980; Krashen, 1981, 1983; Schumann, 1975).

Studies in Second Language Situations

In this situation many studies showed that children are better than older learners in learning a second language. Most studies that proved the advantages of the early age were from the ESL situations. Children are better than older learners especially in the attainment of intonation (Asher & Garcia, 1969; Krashen, Long, & Scarcella, 1979; Oyama, 1976).

Studies in Foreign Language Situations

The study results in the EFL situation supports this paper's proposal of three conditions. With the deficiency of input and language, attainment of fluency was not as successful as expected, except in the case of immersion situation.

In the immersion situation, there are reports that early acquisition was successful. In the Canadian experimental programmes, both "early immersion" and "late immersion" were success-

ful. The late immersion groups of children who had had only a two-year immersion at grades 7 and 8 reached levels of achievement in their second language which at the grade 9 level were comparable to grade 9 early immersion children who had been immersed for eight or nine years since kindergarten (Stern, 1978).

In the non-immersion situation, early teaching was not very successful. Two UNESCO-sponsored international meetings in Hamburg (1962, 1966) did not prove the superiority of an early start over a later start, even though they were intended to promote research on the effectiveness of an early start (Stern, 1978).

Also, the British project on Primary French, a longitudinal study between 1964 and 1974 through the cooperation of the Department of Education and Science of England and Wales, the National Foundation for Educational Research, the Nuffield Foundation and the schools Council, showed results that were not very clear. The early starters were not overwhelmingly better than the later starters. The researchers were very doubtful of the advantages of early teaching. They said that if there was any advantage at all for the early start, it was only that it allows more time for second language learning(Stern, 1978). Finally, research done by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement on teaching English as a foreign language in ten countries and teaching French as a foreign language in eight countries, provided no clear evidence that there is any special advantage in starting the study of a foreign language very early other than the fact that this may provide the student more time to attain a desired performance level at a given age (Stern, 1978).

Concluding Remarks

1. The three conditions essential for attaining proficiency in L1 or second/foreign language situations are: the LAD, Input, Language Needs.

2. The deficiency of one of these elements is the main cause of failure for attaining proficiency in the EFL situation, not because of the disappearance of the LAD after puberty or the critical period hypothesis.

3. Just starting to teach English in the EFL situation will not produce fluent speakers as it does in ESL situations, unless the three conditions are met.

4. The critical period hypothesis is rejected (Krashen and Terrell 1983; Chun, 1980). With the three conditions hypothesis, supposition of the disappearance of LAD or of the critical period hypothesis is not necessary. Children's superiority in attaining the native speaker's intonation is recognized. But achieving syntax has no correlation with the age. That is what Multiple Critical Period Hypothesis says(Seliger, 1978; Ellis, 1985).

Notes

1. [T]he ability to pick up languages does not disappear at puberty, as some have claimed, but is still with us as adults. (Krashen and Terrell,1983, p. 26).

2. [W]e have no clear empirical support for the hypothesis of a general decrease in L2 learning ability with age. (Chun, 1980, p. 288)

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Age Factors and Language Proficiency in Child SLA[1]

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Introduction

A longitudinal study of Japanese children acquiring English as a second language aroused my interest in age factors in second language acquisition (Yumoto 1984, 1990,1991). The purpose of this project is to investigate the relationship between age factors and L2 proficiency in a cross-sectional research project.[2]

The previous studies by Oyama (1976), Patkowsky (1982), and Johnson and Newport (1989) showed the age of arrival as the main factor in L2 proficiency and not the length of residence. Long (1990,1993) drew from these research findings a hypothesis of SLA as a function of the age of onset.

I propose the following working hypotheses:

1. the age of arrival is a determinant factor in overall L2 proficiency;
2. the age of arrival is correlated with L2 proficiency;
3. the later age arrivals with higher cognitive development will be more proficient than the early age arrivals; and
4. the length of stay correlates with L2 proficiency.

Method

Subjects

The subjects in this study were 108 Japanese children who were attending Rainbow Gakuen in Honolulu. They were attending local American schools weekdays. Not all of them completed the required tests and a questionnaire. Due to this missing data, the final number of subjects in the present paper turned out to be 67 of which 21 were first graders, 24 second graders, and 22 third graders. The age range of the subjects was from 6 to 9 years. The age of arrival was between zero and 9 years. The length of stay in the US varied

from 4 to 114 months.

Materials

Description of Tests

The Language Assessment Scales (LAS) English Level 1 Form A (Grades K-5) was administered. The LAS consisted of five Tasks: I. Minimal pairs (30 items); II. Lexical (20 items); III. Phonemes (18 items); IV. Sentence comprehension (10 items); and V. Storytelling. Two examples were given before Tasks I-IV. The total score possible is 101 points. The testing time was 20 minutes.

Description of Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of:

1. Basic data about the subject: birth-place, gender, grade, age, age of arrival, experiences as overseas residents, length of stay, number of sibilings,
2. Parents' interest in the child's academic studies (4 items),
3. Parents' evaluation of the child's language proficiency (9 items),
4. Language use at school (5 items), and
5. Language use at home (6 items).

Parents filled in the questionnaire and rated their child's language proficiency on a scale of 1-5.

Procedure

As it was difficult to administer an oral production test to 108 subjects in one short period of time, the basic design of the English LAS was modified to accommodate groups of subjects. The subjects were asked to answer in written form rather than orally. Thus, an additional skill other than listening was loaded into the original English LAS. For instance, Phoneme Task, repetition of sentences containing target sounds such as *th* as in "My father is further," was modified to a Dictation Task in this project. Taking account of the increased task load, the order of the whole structure was modified as follows: I. Minimal pairs, II. Lexical comprehension, III. Sentence comprehension, IV. Dictation, and V. Storytelling.

Another modification was made in the Lexical section (II). Instead of naming 20 lexical items orally, the subjects were to identify in the pictures what they were told and write down the number. For example, the tape says "Dog." Pause "Find the picture of a dog and write three." Extra cognitive processing complicated the task and the subjects did not follow the direction for the first 10 items. Since the first 10 items did not mirror their language competence, they were extracted from the analysis under the present study. Consequently, the subscore for Section II was 10 points instead of the 20 in the original LAS.

Another modification was made to the results. The subscores of Minimal pairs were taken out of the analysis due to environmental and internal factors; aside from the noise coming from the school-playground, the task of minimal pairs in English was beyond the comprehension of the young Japanese subjects. The total score for the English LAS was therefore 61 points instead of 101 points in the original LAS. The modified English LAS had a reliability coefficient of rxx=.9580. The LAS English was administered on December 4, 1993 at Kaimuki Intermediate School in Honolulu.

Analyses

Raw scores from the English LAS were submitted to correlational analyses. Then one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to check whether there were significant differences among the means of different groups. Some of the ANOVAs were followed up by more detailed Scheffe multiple-range tests to determine, in post hoc comparisons, exactly where any significant differences might be located.

Results

The Pearson product-moment correlation was used to establish relationships between variables. Exploratory comparisons were made between all the variables to discover which independent variables correlated to the total scores of the English LAS, the dependent variable. Independent variables were each a subscale score of the LAS English and all the variables in the questionnaire.

English proficiency assessed by the total scores of the English LAS subscales was correlated with the length of stay in the U.S. at .47 with a one-tailed significance of $p<.001$. English was negatively correlated with the age of arrival at -.40 ($p<001$). No significant correlation was found between age and English proficiency as assessed by the LAS scores.

The correlations can be interpreted as follows;

1. The longer subjects stayed in the U.S., the more proficient they were in terms of the English LAS.

2. The early age arrivals were more proficient in English than the later age arrivals within the range of zero to nine years of age at arrival.

I will further examine the above results in detail in relation to the working hypotheses in separate sections.

English LAS and Age Factors

The Pearson correlational analysis indicated no correlation between English proficiency in terms of the English LAS scores and age. However, detailed scrutiny of their relationships and relations with other age related variables revealed interesting facts.

Descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) were calculated for the English LAS scores. The results indicated a linear sequence of scores: the mean scores of the English LAS of 6 to 9 years of age were 15.75, 22.96, 23.92 and 24.46 points out of 61 full points, respectively (Table 1).

One of the characteristics of the older groups was their diversity in scores: the range of scores for the 9 year-old group was 46 points, that for 8 was 48, that for 7 was 34, and that for 6 was. In addition, the standard deviations were much larger in the older groups than in the younger ones. These values indicated a wider range of distribution away from the mean of the population for the older students, which meant that the data for these subjects were more widely scattered. The mean difference was small between 8 and 9 year-old groups (.53 pts), while larger between 6 and 7 year-old groups (7.21 pts).

Table 1: Means/English LAS (V48) By Age (V3)

Variable	Value	Label	Mean	S D	Cases
For Entire Population			23.1940	12.2799	67
	V3	6.0	15.7500	6.5000	4
	V3	7.0	22.9583	9.9235	24
	V3	8.0	23.9231	13.4042	26
	V3	9.0	24.4615	15.3059	13

The combination of a one-way analysis of ANOVA and Scheffe multiple-range tests was performed to see the differences among the means of different age groups. Scheffe's post hoc comparison showed that any two means more than 2.19 points apart were significant at p<.05. The result indicated that no two groups were significantly different. There was some relationship between the English LAS and age in a linear sequence but it was statistically insignificant.

Next I investigated the relationships between the age of arrival and English proficiency assessed by the English LAS. They were negatively correlated: r= -.40 at p<.001. That is, the early age arrivals performed better in the English LAS than the later age arrivals. This is shown in Table 2, in which mean comparison for the English LAS of the entire range on the age arrivals, zero to nine years of age, were given. The values indicate that a few extreme scores especially in 1-year-old and the two later-age arrivals, 8 years of age, were given. The values indicate that a few extreme scores especially in 1-year-old and the two later-age arrivals, 8- and 9-years-old, pulled the mean in a direction favorable to the early age arrivals causing a positively skewed distribution. The second highest on the score falls on the 3-year-old arrivals following the extremely high score of a single subject of a 1-year-old arrival; the 4-to-6 year old groups scored close to the overall mean, which was 23.19 points out of 61 full scale. The order of group means on the LAS English were as follows: 1, 3, 0, 6, 5, 4, 2, 7, 9 and 8 year-old arrivals. Since the statistical figures in Table 2 offer no clear descending linear sequence of the English LAS scores parallel to the age of arrival, I grouped the subjects into three groups according to the age of arrival to see whether or not a few extreme scores had affected the tests. The first group consisted of the subjects who had arrived between zero to 3 years of age, the second group consisted of 4 to 6 years of age arrivals and the third group consists of 7 to 9 years of age arrivals.

The combination of a one-way ANOVA and a Scheffe multiple-range test was conducted to see differences among the means of different groups based on the age of arrivals. The ANOVA was first conducted using the English LAS scores yielding F=10.01; df=2; P=.0002, indicating a significant difference between the groups at -.47: the group mean of the English LAS is 27.97 points for the 0-3 age arrival group, 23.16 points for the 4-6 age group, and 11.33 points for 7-9 group (Table 3).

Scheffe's post hoc comparison indicated that any two means more than 3.54 points apart were significant at p<.05. Thus the group means

omparison of the English LAS based on the age of arrival groups was significant. The statistical result confirmed that the early age arrivals were

Table 2: ***Means/English LAS (V48) By Age of Arrival (V4)***

Variable	Value Label	Mean	S D	Cases
For Entire Population		23.1940	12.2799	67
V4	.0	27.2778	11.8858	18
V4	1.0	43.0000	.0000	1
V4	2.0	19.0000	9.0921	4
V4	3.0	32.7143	11.1313	7
V4	4.0	22.6667	11.8603	6
V4	5.0	23.1111	9.4531	9
V4	6.0	23.5000	6.9322	10
V4	7.0	15.8333	16.1668	6
V4	8.0	6.4000	4.0373	5
V4	9.0	9.0000	.0000	1

cmore proficient in English than the late age arrivals in the present study

.Age of Arrival and Length of Stay

While analyzing age-related variables, some interesting facts emerged. There was a very close relationships between the age of arrival and the length of stay. The two variables were strongly negatively correlated: $r = -.93$ at $p<.001$. The length of stay, in turn, was correlated to English proficiency scored in LAS: $r = .47$ at $p<.001$. Table 4 shows group mean statistics of the English LAS in relation to the length of stay. Table 5 confirms the high correlation between the age of arrival and the length of stay. It summarizes a striking structural feature of the Rainbow School population. The early arrivals, of which 18 subjects (or about 27% of the total subjects) were either born in the US (mostly in Hawaii) or arrived at zero year of age, had an extended length of stay in Hawaii: the mean length of stay of this group was 92.6 months, that of the 1 year age arrival is 90 months, that of 2 year age arrivals was 75.25 months and that of 3 year age arrivals was 56 months. Those who arrived between zero to 3 years of age amounted to 30 children or about 45% of the total subjects. The mean length of stay for those early arrivals is 78.5 months. The arrivals between 4 and 6 years of age amounted to 25 children or about 37 percent of the total subjects.

The mean length of stay for the age 4-6 arrivals was 33.6 months. The arrivals between 7-9 years of age accounted for 12 children or about 18 percent of the total subjects. The mean length of stay for those later age arrivals was 10.7 months. It was no wonder that the age of arrival and the length of stay was the strongest correlate found in the subjects in the present study (-.93 at $p<.001$).

Table 3: ***Means /ENGLISH LAS (V48) By Age of Arrival Groups (V4A)***

Variable	Value Label	Mean	S D	Cases
For Entire Population		23.1940	12.2799	67
V4A	0-3	27.9667	11.9004	30
V4A	4-6	23.1600	8.7877	25
V4A	7-9	11.3333	12.1381	12

Table 4: ***ENGLISH LAS (V48) By Length of Stay (V6)***

Variable	Value Label	Mean	S D	Cases
For Entire Population		23.1940	12.2799	67
V6	4.0	3.5000	4.9497	2
V6	5.0	9.3333	1.5275	3
V6	6.0	.0000	.0000	1
V6	8.0	21.0000	.0000	1
V6	10.0	9.0000	.0000	1
V6	12.0	14.0000	.0000	1
V6	13.0	15.0000	.0000	1
V6	14.0	17.0000	.0000	1
V6	15.0	23.0000	.0000	1
V6	17.0	14.5000	6.3640	2
V6	20.0	13.0000	.0000	1
V6	22.0	25.0000	.0000	1
V6	24.0	28.5000	26.1630	2
V6	27.0	19.6667	6.6583	3
V6	29.0	36.0000	.0000	1
V6	30.0	33.0000	.0000	1
V6	32.0	12.0000	.0000	1
V6	34.0	21.0000	.0000	1
V6	36.0	22.0000	8.1854	3
V6	38.0	17.0000	.0000	1
V6	40.0	31.0000	10.5357	3
V6	44.0	18.0000	.0000	1
V6	45.0	42.0000	.0000	1
V6	48.0	30.0000	18.3848	2
V6	49.0	6.0000	.0000	1
V6	52.0	25.0000	.0000	1
V6	53.0	28.0000	.0000	1
V6	55.0	23.0000	.0000	1
V6	58.0	33.0000	.0000	1
V6	65.0	48.0000	.0000	1
V6	68.0	20.0000	15.5563	2
V6	69.0	28.0000	.0000	1
V6	75.0	15.0000	.0000	1
V6	77.0	17.0000	.0000	1
V6	81.0	25.0000	.0000	1
V6	83.0	38.0000	.0000	1
V6	84.0	14.2500	9.8784	4
V6	88.0	33.0000	19.7990	2
V6	89.0	32.0000	.0000	1
V6	90.0	32.5000	14.8492	2
V6	91.0	26.0000	.0000	1
V6	96.0	28.0000	4.5461	4
V6	100.0	35.0000	.0000	1
V6	108.0	52.0000	.0000	1
V6	111.0	32.0000	.0000	1
V6	114.0	36.0000	.0000	1

Table 5: Means/Age of Arrival (V4) By Length of Stay(V6)

Variable	Value Label	Mean	S D	Cases
For Entire Population		51.1045	32.7946	67
V4	.0	92.6111	10.6226	18
V4	1.0	90.0000	.0000	1
V4	2.0	75.2500	9.5000	4
V4	3.0	56.0000	15.0555	7
V4	4.0	36.8333	9.4745	6
V4	5.0	41.5556	14.2488	9
V4	6.0	22.5000	8.7591	10
V4	7.0	13.6667	6.2183	6
V4	8.0	13.4000	19.9073	5
V4	9.0	5.0000	.0000	1

Since the high correlation between the age of arrival and the length of stay posed a key to the analysis of my subjects, I further investigated the close interrelationship between these two variables in relation to language proficiency. Table 6 shows the relationships between the age of arrival, the ranges of the length of stay, and the English LAS scorers. The striking feature is the diversity of range in the LAS scores. The scattered data for the English LAS is very distinctive: the range of zero year-age arrival is 44 and that for the 7 year-age arrivals is 47 scattered between zero to 47 points.

Table 6: ***Age of arrival, length of stay, English LAS***

Age/Ariv	Length(months)	E-LAS
0	75-114	8-52
1	90	43
2	68-88	9-31
3	36-83	15-48
4	24-48	10-43
5	20-69	12-42
6	8-36	14-36
7	6-24	0-47
8	4-49	0-8
9	5	9

Also note the 3, 4 and 5 year-age arrivals; they scored 15-48, 10-43 and 12-42 pts., with the range being 33, 33 and 30 pts., respectively. The widest range of the English LAS was 47 pts. of 7 age arrivals followed by 44 pts. of zero age arrivals. The zero year-old arrivals showed the most scattered range of scores in the English LAS.

Discussion

The observed data could be summarized as follows: 1. Correlating with English proficiency were the length of stay and the age of arrival (r=.47/-.40 at p<.001) and; 2. those two variables were themselves strongly negatively correlated (r= -.93 at p<.001). As a consequence of the fact that the earlier arrivals stayed much longer than the later arrivals, and the age of arrival and the length of stay posed to be the main correlates with English proficiency in this study, a generalization might be made that younger arrivals (and thus the longer stay) were better in L2.

This premise is counter to my hypothesis that the later age arrivals with higher cognitive development would be more proficient in L2 than the early age arrivals. Subsequently, the results support Long's hypothesis of SLA as a function of age of onset.

However, two facts should be pointed out. First, the correlation for the age of arrival and English proficiency was weak and not decisively high in my study (-.40 at p<.001) as it is usually higher (.60) in other studies. Secondly, those who were born in Hawaii stayed extensively longer, but their English LAS scores ranged very widely from 8 to 52 out of 61 points. These points seemed to suggest that the age of arrival could not be a critical factor for L2 proficiency in my subjects.

The diversity of the data from my subjects poses a question that "the younger the arrivals the

better concept" is not necessarily true in my study. Figure 1 shows the diversity of scores in a scatterplot in which the age of arrival was presented on the X axis and the English LAS score on the Y axis. The scatterplot shows that the age of arrival was not the decisive factor in English proficiency in my study evidenced by the zero-age arrivals of whom 12 subjects out of 18 scored below 35 points.

The most distinctive structural feature of the children learning at the Rainbow School is that they are divided into two large groups: the short-stay and longer-stay groups. Those who stay less than three years make up 40 % of the total population and those who were born in the States or arrived soon after their birth make up another 40% of the subjects (according to the school's 1989 survey). The children in the latter group tended to stay longer. This means that the demographic structure is skewed into those groups.

Two population structures distinctive to the Rainbow School were exemplified in Figure 2, in which all the subjects were plotted in terms of the English LAS scores and their length of stay. We see double regression structures in the scatterplot, the one concentrated to the shorter length of stay and the other to the longer length of stay. This structural characteristic explains the correlation of the length of stay, which was coupled with the early arrival, to English proficiency. However, as we see in Figure 2, the scatterplot showed the diversity of the English LAS scores in relation to the length of stay. The length of stay does not necessarily predict proficiency. I can only conclude that the length of stay is not a critical factor for English proficiency in my subjects. The correlation between English proficiency and the length of stay was weak.

Figure1. **Plot of ENGLISH LAS (V48) With Age of Arrival (V4)**

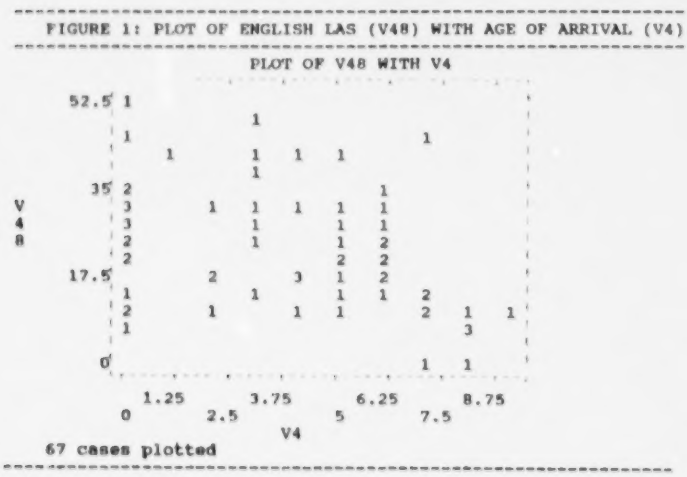


Figure 2. Plot of ENGLISH LAS (V48) With Length of Stay (V6)

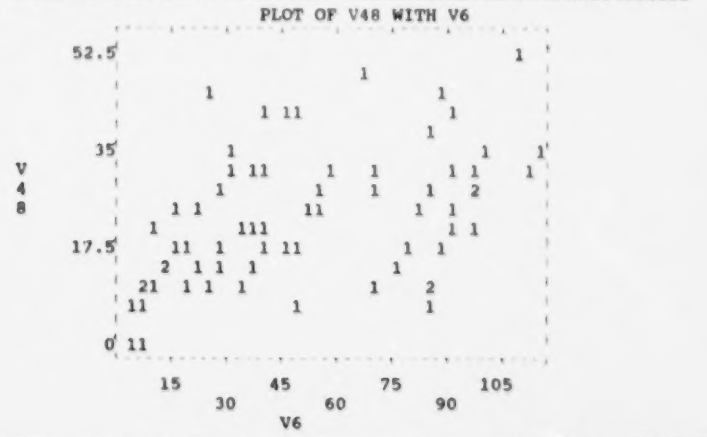
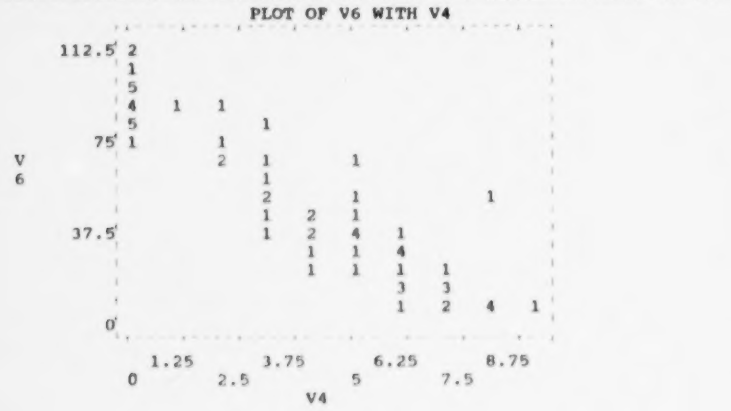


Figure 3 Plot of Length of Stay (V6) With Age of Arrival (V4)



sequence of increase in the English LAS scores with age might be found significant if the age range is widened. By the same token, the narrow age range might have affected the weak correlation between L2 proficiency and the age of arrival. Correlations may turn out to be stronger, if the age range is widened and the early age arrivals are compared with a length of stay equivalent to that of the later arrivals former.

To conclude, the age of arrival is not a determinant factor in L2 proficiency, although the former and the length of stay are found correlated with the latter. The working hypothesis 1 is refuted while 2 and 4 are supported; 3 was inconclusive in the present study due to the narrow range of the subjects. Whether the findings are specific to the population of Rainbow School is left to further study in which subjects from other Japanese schools should be compared with those of the Rainbow School's.

Conclusions

1. Significant correlations were found between English proficiency and the length of stay/the age of arrival (r=.47/-.40 at $p<.001$) within the arrival range of zero to 9 years of age. The degree of correlation was not high.

2. A strong correlation was found between the age of arrival and the length of stay (r=-.93 at $p<.001$). The result reflects the demographic structure of the subjects: the early-age arrivals make up the longer-stay group, and the later-age arrivals, the short-stay group.

3. The corollary drawn from these results is that the earlier the subjects arrive (thus, the longer the stay), the more proficient they are in English, or to put it another way, the later they arrive (thus, the shorter the stay), the less proficient.

4. The early arrivals were generally more proficient in English than the later arrivals. However, L2 proficiency was scattered widely among the early arrivals: the zero year age group showed the widest range of proficiency. "The younger the arrivals the better" concept was not strongly supported in the study because of the diversity of the range in L2 proficiency coupled with the weak correlation between the age of arrival and the English LAS scores.

5. The study showed a linear relationship of English LAS scores to age, but the relationship was statistically insignificant. The fact that no statistical correlation was found between the age variable and English proficiency may be explained by the relatively narrow age range (6-9 years old) of the subjects. The insignificant linear

Notes

1. This project was done while I was a Ministry of Education research fellow at the Department of ESL, University of Hawai'i as a Ministry of Education research fellow.

2. The project also investigated FL/SL relations in terms of Cummins' (1980) L1/L2 interdependent hypothesis; however, due to limited space the result of that is reported in an another paper. As there is no LAS Japanese version, the LAS English was translated into Japanese. Separate Tasks I and III were developed independently with Dr. Toshiaki Ishiguro, a visiting colleague of the Department of ESL. The translated version of the Japanese LAS had a reliablility coefficient of .8645. Kazuko Yumoto recorded the Japanese version. It was administered on December 11, 1993.

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Appendix

Language Assessment Scales (Modified)

I. Task One (Minimal Pairs)

Please look at page 1. You are going to hear two words on the tape and I want you to tell me if they sound the same or different. Let us practice.

Example one: beet-beet.
They are the same, so please draw a circle in the answer sheet.

Example two: pat-bat
They are different, so write an X in the answer sheet.

Now let us begin.

1. them-them	11. pet-pat	21. rice-lice
2. then-den	12. back-back	22. ten-tan
3. very-berry	13. deep-dip	23. set-set
4. five-five	14. meat-meat	24. send-sent
5. yellow-yellow	15. sing-sink	25. mold-mold
6. ear-year	16. rang-rang	26. peel-pill
7. hit-hit	17. thumb-thump	27. mob-mop
8. hop-up	18. thin-sin	28. cold-gold
9. spun-spun	19. chain-chain	29. whether-weather
10. especially-specially	20. shop-chop	30. rain-ray

II. Task Two (Lexical)

Please turn to page 2. We have some drawings here. I want you to listen to the tape. You will hear a word. I want you to find the picture that goes with the word. Next, in the picture write the number I tell you. Let us practice.

Example one: knife (3).
Did everyone write the number 3 inside the box with the picture of the knife?

Now turn to page 3, and let us begin.

1.	table	(4)	6.	bicycle	(1)
2.	train	(6)	7.	elephant	(7)
3.	dog	(8)	8.	banana	(10)
4.	apple	(2)	9.	knife	(3)
5.	couch	(9)	10.	space ship	(5)

Now turn to page 4. Let us continue.

11.	chicken	(7)	16.	water melon	(5)
12.	bread	(3)	17.	candle	(4)
13.	hammer	(10)	18.	airplane	(6)
14.	submarine	(1)	19.	camel	(4)
15.	dinosaur	(9)	20.	cheese	(8)

III. Task Three (Sentence comprehension)

Please turn to page 5. Now we have some more pictures here. I want you to listen to the tape and then circle the picture that goes with what you hear.

Example one: "The thin girl is sweeping the floor."
Did everybody choose the picture on the left?

Now turn to page 6.

Example two: "The girl is pulled by the horse."
Did everybody choose the picture in the upper left-hand corner?

Now let us begin the test. Turn to page 7.

1. The fork is held by the girl, but the spoon is held by the boy.
2. The woman is sitting in the little car and the man is sitting with her.
3. The little girl who is wearing a dress and riding the bicycle is being pushed by the boy.
4. There are five animals: two ducks and three chickens. Circle the little boy who is holding his hand up.
5. One girl is eating with a fork; the other girl is holding a spoon but not eating. Circle the girl who is stirring.
6. If you were asked to circle the picture which shows only half of the people in the picture crying, which picture would you circle?
7. After the big girl rode the horse, she helped the little girl get on.
8. There are three pictures of little boys. Circle the picture where there is only one little boy who is not standing.
9. Circle the picture which shows no more than one boy who is sitting and one barefoot girl talking on the telephone to a friend who cannot be seen in the picture.
10. Circle the picture which shows a spotted dog and a striped cat, neither of which is jumping over the fence.

IV. Task Four (Dictation)

Now turn to page 17. This time I want you to write exactly what you hear on the tape. Are you ready?

Example: If you hear "It's raining," you write "It's raining."
Now let us begin.

1. My father is further away.
2. The rivers are moving.
3. The yard is yellow.
4. The hat is hot.
5. He hugged the bug.
6. He sat on a mat.
7. The snail can spin.
8. Old Kathy is thin.
9. He chewed his chocolate.
10. The boys were busy.
11. Let the pet in.
12. The food was good.
13. He bit the chip.
14. The crab was in the tub.
15. They need the feed.
16. My gum is good.
17. There's white and wheat.
18. The pig was in the park.

V. Task Five (Written Production: Storytelling)

Please turn now to page 18. Now you are going to hear a story while you are looking at these four pictures. Listen to the tape very carefully, because I want you to write the story after you hear it. You will hear the story only once. Are you ready?

Once upon a time there was a big black crow who was very thirsty. So she flew around looking for some water. By and by, just before she got to the bridge, she saw what looked like a pitcher of water. But when the crow flew down she was very disappointed. The water was at the bottom of the pitcher and she couldn't reach it with her beak. "I wonder how I can get that water," the crow thought. "I have to have a plan," she said. So the crow thought and thought. Finally she thought of a plan. She started dropping pebbles into the pitcher. Each time she dropped a pebble, the water came up a little higher. When it reached the top of the pitcher, the clever crow could drink the water and quench her thirst. After she had plenty of water, she flew off to visit her friend.

Now begin writing the story you just heard on the back of page 17.

(after 5 minutes)

This is the end of the test.

Development of Framework[1] in K-12 Japanese as a Second Language

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Background

The purpose of this paper is twofold: to present the background of the Framework which was developed as a collaborative effort among teachers and administrators, and to introduce the guiding principles which are the central themes in the Framework. The rapid increase in the awareness of foreign language instruction for younger learners, in North America particularly, attracts attention to languages such as Japanese. Teaching Japanese as a second language in precollegiate levels in North American, Australia, and elsewhere has gained much currency in the last decade, as the number of learners of all ages has increased (e.g. Marriott, Neustupny, Spence-Brown, 1993; Okazaki & Okazaki, 1991). For example, in the United States, though Spanish has the largest number of learners, Japanese courses showed the most increase as a foreign language subject. In the U.S., the enrollment of high school students in Japanese increased from 25,123 in 1992 to 42,787 in 1994, or a 41% increase (*The Breeze*, 1995). In Australia, by 1988, the enrollment figures for Japanese had doubled, and overtook French by 1989 at the tertiary level (Marriott, Neustupny, Spence-Brown, 1993). This increased interest is indeed also alive in Japan in the group called JCIS (Japan Council of International Schools).[2] Member schools in JCIS are K-12 (primary and secondary levels) private schools where the medium of instruction is English, and whose curricula are mostly based on the North American system.

In order to respond to the changing needs in language learning theories and practice, JCIS started what was called the Japanese Language Project[3] (JLP) in 1992. Through the survey conducted in the project, Japanese language was found to be one of the vital components of the overall programs in JCIS. Through several workshops held for professional development, teachers began a strong effort to network.[4] The call for a framework was put forth during the

workshops, meetings, and informal contacts with the Japanese language teachers. This was in response to the need for a communicative approach to language learning. JCIS, like everyone else, has been going through a shift in their Japanese language classroom practice as well as in the area of curriculum development.

Some background is necessary here. First, JCIS schools are unlike public K-12 schools in Japan and elsewhere. JCIS teachers, working for private schools, have curriculum development and renewal as part of their responsibilities. JCIS itself has a networking function, and does not act as the governing authority of member schools as the Ministry of Education does for Japanese public schools. Thus each JCIS school has a curriculum articulated according to the goals and objectives of its own program. Second, it is given that curriculum development is an on-going process. It is to be reviewed periodically and up-dated. In one school in JCIS, for example, there is a long term plan for curriculum renewal that is activated every five years. In each area, whether it is Japanese, social studies, or technology, the school will actively review its curriculum for the entire school. Third, curriculum renewal is a collaborative effort among teachers, curriculum coordinators, department chairs, and administrators. Parents are not usually part of the team, but they have access to the results, if they are interested.

In the last decade or so, one the the buzz words in the field of teaching Japanese as a second/foreign language has been "diversity." JCIS Japanese language programs are exemplars of "diversity." The survey from the JLP (Kite 1995b) reveals that the learners are diverse in their L1, knowledge of Japanese, language usage patterns at home and community, and parents' language(s). Programs show as much diversity as the learners according to the school's goals and objectives. Some focus on the cultural aspects, and some have the characteristics of a bilingual program. Among these aspects of diversity, the following are common elements:

1. Japanese language programs are a vital part of the overall JCIS programs. Japanese is taught as a requirement [5] in 96% of the elementary schools, (or 22 out of 23 schools), 68% of the middle school [6] and 44% of the high schools. In middle and high schools where foreign languages are offered, Japanese has the highest enrollment (Japanese 89%, French 8%, Spanish 3%). Most of the school administrators (95%) consider Japanese language instruction a valued part of their curriculum.
2. Through the survey, the Japanese language teachers expressed a strong desire to strengthen their network. The JLP helped to forge a strong bond among teachers by making them aware that their professional concerns are similar, and they can indeed work together (see Kite 1994, 1995a).
3. The areas of concern among the teachers, program coordinators, and administrators are consistent.

Two areas were identified: curriculum and classroom management. Teachers expressed this consistently in workshop evaluation forms, meeting minutes, and reaction sheets. In the survey results, curriculum/syllabus and related issues such as the number of ability levels in one class, was mentioned by 41% of respondents as one area for concern. Classroom management ranked second at 29%.

The concerns about curriculum are expected, if the teaching context at JCIS, where curriculum renewal is an on-going process is considered. The need for a framework emerges from teachers as well as from the program organizers in an attempt to respond to the changing needs in a classroom. A framework is defined as "a resource and a planning tool for planning, implementing and evaluating language programs" (Nunan 1994). In the field of foreign language instruction, numerous frameworks/guidelines are available (see the Framework 1995 resources and references section). Some are geared to high school foreign language programs (e.g. Indiana Department of Education 1986; Minnesota Department of Education 1988; National Standards, in preparation). Some advocate foreign language instruction at an earlier age (e.g., California 1989; South Carolina 1994) . Though written for adults, the ones from the National Curriculum Project (Nunan & Burton, 1989) are written for specific leaners or skills. The most comprehensive guidelines for K-12 comes from Australia (Scarino, Angela et al., 1988). In the field of teaching Japanese, two were published in the U.S. (Brockett, 1994; Unger, 1993). Both are aimed at Japanese programs at high schools in a foreign language setting. (See the review of all available frameworks for teaching Japanese in the Framework, 1995, and *Forum Tsuushin*, Dec. 1995).

Reviews of the available frameworks led to

the development of our own framework. We considered three points: (1) consistency with theories and practices of second language learning, (2) relevance to our teaching context (learners' age, Japanese as a host language), and (3) ability to engage teachers and educators. The strengths of each framework were consolidated and adjusted to fit the JCIS context.

Scope of Framework

No framework can cover all the learner's ages, learning objectives, and learning context. For our JCIS context, the scope of the Framework was defined as follows:

- elementary and secondary students in JCIS
- students whose first language is not Japanese
- students with no previous knowledge of, or limited proficiency in Japanese

In the Framework, we also noted that learners are a diverse group with the following characteristics. Students are diverse in:

- first language
- learning styles and strategies
- aptitude and motivation
- interest in using language outside the classroom

Guiding Principles

In developing a framework to help teachers plan, implement, and evaluate courses for teaching Japanese as a second language, it was necessary, in the first instance, to think through and articulate a set of philosophical principles. We developed these principles with reference to four key elements: (1) language, (2) learning, (3) learners, and (4) sociocultural context. Set out below are the key principles which we believe should guide the development of curricula.

Language

Language forms and communicative functions are integrated.

Mastering language forms, that is, the pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary of Japanese, is central to successfully acquiring the language. However, language forms must not be taught separately from the communication skills that learners wish to develop. When language is taught in ways which make clear the relationship between language forms and their usage, learners are best able to choose the right patterns to express their ideas and feelings. In other words, while learners should be given a systematic introduction to pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, the emphasis should remain on the way these forms are used to communicate.

The materials must also make clear the sociocultural contexts within which particular grammatical and vocabulary choices are made, so that learners will be able to make choices that are not only grammatically correct but communicatively appropriate.

Language is purposeful.

This is closely related to the preceding one, and highlights the fact that all spoken and written language occurs in a context of usage, and that the words and structures we use are always closely related to this context and purpose. In other words, the overall structure, appearance, and grammatical elements of language in usage reflect the purposes for which the language itself was created.

Language is presented as an interlocking set of systems and subsystems.

Language exists as interlocking systems of sounds, words, and grammar. These different elements can be isolated for the purposes of study. However, in order to be able to use them communicatively, learners need to experience the various subsystems in an integrated fashion. The traditional way of teaching second and foreign languages is to begin with the smallest elements (individual sounds and words) and build up to the largest (complete texts and discourses). However, in recent years, the trend has been to adopt a more holistic approach. This means that from the earliest stages, learners should encounter pieces of language produced in the course of meaningful interaction, that is, language as discourse.

Learners are presented with authentic data.

In traditional classrooms, learners are exposed to spoken and written texts which have been written specially for the classroom. As a consequence, they often find it difficult to understand language used in the world beyond the classroom. We believe that from the earliest stages students should study samples of spoken and written texts which are typical of the types of

language they are likely to encounter outside the classroom.

Spoken language has priority.

In most contexts, communication means speaking Japanese. Spoken language and language forms should therefore be given priority in the Japanese language classroom.

Learning

The curriculum incorporates learning-how-to-learn goals as well as language content goals.

In addition to teaching language, instruction should also develop learning skills. There are many ways in which this can be done. For example, learners can be encouraged to reflect on the goals of their learning, and the strategies underlying learning tasks can be made explicit. Likewise, the students can be encouraged to make choices, and they can be involved in monitoring and assessing their own progress.

Materials should develop the learner's thinking and reasoning strategies, so that he or she learns how to learn in a more systematic way. This requires that tasks are carefully constructed so as to become gradually more cognitively complex. For example, skills in processing information should be introduced before students learn to interpret data. But students should be taught to interpret data before being asked to bring their own experiences to bear on it.

Learners are actively involved in using the language in a wide range of communicative activities.

A growing body of evidence suggests that learners learn best by actively using the language in communicative activities. The evidence suggests a clear relationship between the amount of time a learner spends using the language, and how far he/she progresses in acquiring it. The curriculum should therefore emphasize getting students to do things with language. Learners learn by doing. Following earlier principles, the stress should not be primarily on learning about language, but on using it. The relevant questions here are: "What can you do with your Japanese?" "Can you obtain information from a range of aural and written sources and use it to some communicative end?" "What goods and services can you obtain?" "What concepts can you express and interpret in the Japanese you know?" "Can you express your opinions and feelings and interpret those of others?" "Can you persuade others and respond to their points of view?"

There is a deliberate focus on form to support the development of the ability to use the language.

Learners do not acquire language one item at a time, perfectly. Rather, they acquire numerous features at once, imperfectly. In other words, mastery of language form is an organic, rather than linear process. It therefore follows that learning items should be recycled and represented in a wide range of contexts and situations. Learners learn language organically absorbing more than one thing at a time and gradually making adjustments to what they already know as they are confronted with new data. Accordingly, we should try to emulate this gradual accumulation and transformation of what learners know, rather than adopting a strictly sequential and mechanical model of progression through the syllabus.

Language is introduced and reintroduced cyclically and developmentally.

In terms of language development, we believe that learning is an organic, spiral process, not a linear one. One consequence of this view is that recycling of content, topics, grammar, etc., is considered to be healthy because it reinforces the way in which children acquire language.

Learners

Instruction is directed towards supporting and enhancing the learner's cognitive, affective, social and cultural development.

It needs to be borne firmly in mind that JSL is an integral part of the educational experience of the student. The language classroom should therefore strive to teach the intellectual, social, cultural, and moral values which should be the ultimate aim of all educators. In language learning this can be done through the development of cognitive tasks such as classifying, deductive and inductive learning, inferencing, etc., through socialization tasks associated with cooperative, group learning, and through culturally appropriate themes and content.

Experiential content reflects the learner's needs and interests.

The materials will need to choose themes and topics which match the interests and aspirations of the JCIS school student and which are in harmony with the culture and context within which the learning takes place. As a general principle we suggest that the thematic focus should be the individual in relation to his/her local, national, and international environ-

ments. The curriculum should emphasize the gradual development of four worlds in the learner:

(i) The language and communication world;
(ii) The knowledge and content world;
(iii) The cognitive and learning world;
(iv) The social and interpersonal world.

Accordingly, texts and tasks should be chosen which contribute to all four of the above worlds, not merely, for example, the world of language alone. The learner is developing as an individual in terms of all four worlds as the curriculum proceeds.

Students are assisted in making connections between school and the world beyond the classroom, and are give skills to learn independently.

The fact that students are living and learning in communities where Japanese is the medium of instruction should be acknowledged and exploited. Learners should be encouraged to make connections between the language they encounter in the classroom and the language which surrounds them in the community. As their mastery increases, they should be involved in collecting samples of language for study and exploitation within the classroom.

Learning opportunities reflect the fact that learners are different and learn in different ways.

The curriculum should reflect the fact that learners are different and learn in different ways. This can be achieved through building diversity into the language content and learning processes in the curriculum.

Socio-cultural Context

Learners reflect upon and develop language within a Japanese cultural setting and context.

The curriculum must make explicit the complex interrelationships between language, society and culture. In all societies, critical cultural elements are reflected in the language. In Japan, the appropriateness of language forms is more determined by the relationship between the speakers in a conversation. Students of Japanese will come to an appreciate the fact that language is a manifestation of society and culture.

Learners develop an understanding of the culture of the Japanese community.

The curriculum should encourage "cultural education" across the curriculum, not focused strictly on classroom Japanese. Students should participate in or experience a wide range of cultural events, both traditional and popular, for example, the tea ceremony, *kabuki*, chopsticks, and Japanese baths.

Learners increase, through their emerging mastery of Japanese, the possibility of understanding, friendship, and cooperation with people who speak Japanese.

The curriculum should encourage students to establish relationships with speakers of Japanese beyond the confines of the classroom and the school. Through access to the Japanese community, students will develop an appreciation of the host country and its people.

Learners deepen their understanding and appreciation of their own language and culture.

By activating their language outside the classroom, students develop an understanding not only of the role of language in Japanese culture, but of the role of language in their own culture.

JCIS and Beyond

Although this Framework has specific audiences in mind, as seen above, the Framework can serve many Japanese language educators beyond JCIS. One of the strengths of this Framework is that it includes both theories and practical application devices. Theories presented are consistent with the communicative approach in second language acquisition theory and instruction. Therefore the Framework can speak to language educators in general. We believe that the guiding principles set forth can serve learners of any age, of different goals (than just gaining greater involvement in Japanese society), and in any context (outside of Japan). Not only are the theories expressed in a user-friendly manner, but there are examples for applications useful in many contexts. For example, when a teacher endorses the notion of "learner-centered" (Nunan 1988) and "task-based learning" (Nunan 1989), then the rationale and ways in which one can incorporate such notions in one's curriculum are clearly stated in the Framework.

The second distinct strength in our Framework is that it can indeed "engage" teachers and those concerned in language learning by providing explicit ways to use this document. One such idea is action research. The framework articulates one-by-one steps on how one can engage in such professional development both in second and foreign language contexts. This is crucial. Otherwise it would simply collect dust on a shelf.

As far as we know this is the first Frame-

work developed in Japan. As we stated, this document is just a beginning. It has ample potential as a tool for many language teachers and administrators.

Notes

1. *A Framework for Teaching Japanese as a Second Language. The Japan Council of International Schools Curriculum Development & Renewal Project for the Teaching of Japanese as a Second Language.* (1995). Tokyo: The Japanese Ministry of Education and the Japan council of International Schools. The authors wish to express gratitude for funding of which made this document possible. The authors are consultants and writing team members of this Framework.

2. An association of K-12 international schools whose program is based on North American curricula (N=27, and the total enrollment=8,500+). For details, see *Outline of international schools in Japan*, (1995). Tokyo: Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture.

3. See the report on the Japanese Language Project in Kite, Y. (1995b) for details.

4. The Kanto (Tokyo and northern area) region had their own networking. The JLP was the first to put all the teachers both in Kanto and Kansai (Nagoya west) together.

5. The only exception according to the survey results was those students who are enrolled in ESOL. They do not usually take Japanese. This is claimed due to the idea that the students' English development is the primary focus. Second, this seems to be a reflection of the first reason, ESOL and Japanese are taught at the same time.

6. Grades 6 through 9 in most of the JCIS schools.

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